

10 The Opposite of an Anti-creole? Why Modern Chamorro is Not a New Language

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10.1 Introduction

This chapter is about Chamorro (or Chamoru),¹ the autochthonous Malayo-Polynesian language of the Mariana Islands, situated roughly halfway between Japan and New Guinea in the western Pacific Ocean.² Chamorro has undergone significant contact-induced change ever since the European discovery of the Pacific in 1521, the major influences coming from Spanish and American English.³ These changes can be interpreted as the transformation of an insular language ecology under the impact of European colonization, westernization, modernization, and globalization (see Mühlhäusler 1996a, especially pp. 105ff.). Contact with Spanish dates back to the first stage of the colonization of the Marianas, from 1565 to 1898, when the archipelago officially formed part of the Spanish kingdom (as did the Philippines). Diseases and warfare decreased the indigenous population from approximately 50,000, at the time of the founding of the first Catholic mission in 1668, to fewer than 4,000, only forty years later (Cunningham 1992: 170; Rogers 1995: 70–71; Mühlhäusler 1996a: 105–108). Modern Chamorro people, language, and culture emerged under various influences from the Hispanic colonial world (especially Mexico and the Philippines) during the eighteenth century. Chamorro–Spanish bilingualism was widely spread on the Marianas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Rodríguez-Ponga 1999). As a result of the 1898 war, Spain ceded Guam, the southernmost island, to the United States and sold the other islands to the German empire. American English was then quickly introduced to Guam and developed

¹ For a discussion on the ‘correct’ spelling see Pagel (2010: 31), Onedera (2011a), and Rodríguez-Ponga (2013).

² The archipelago consists of fourteen major islands of which only the southernmost four (from north to south: Saipan, Tinian, Rota, and Guam) are inhabited. Geographically, the Marianas form part of the island group of Micronesia.

³ A third and equally important source are Philippine languages, a contact fold that has not been researched in detail yet (Blust 2000).

into the dominant language of the Mariana chain after the end of the Second World War, when the northern islands also came under US authority.⁴ The local variety of Spanish disappeared with its last speakers in the 1990s at the latest; the last samples of Marianan Spanish were recorded by Albalá and Rodríguez-Ponga in the 1980s and are analysed in detail by Albalá (1997) and Pagel (2010).

The focus of the present chapter is on the contact between Chamorro and Spanish, leaving aside the equally important, and yet largely unstudied, contact with American English (see Pagel 2008). The two contact situations have taken different paths of linguistic change: while the overall direction of Chamorro in the contact with Spanish has been language maintenance with heavy copying from Spanish, that of the contact with English has been language shift. Unlike the Spaniards, who never officially promoted the use of Spanish in their colony, US administration has pursued a rigorous pro-English policy from the very beginning, banning Chamorro from public spaces by means of law. According to 2010 census data (United States Census Bureau 2013), 213,241 people live on Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands of which 72,283, roughly one-third, consider themselves as ethnic Chamorro. Some 37,646 people claim to speak Chamorro at home, making this the third-largest speaker group in the census after 'English only' and 'Philippine languages'. Indisputably, English is the major dominant language on the Marianas archipelago, and most ethnic Chamorros – virtually all on Guam – have primary competence therein. The use of Chamorro is restricted largely to intra-community communication and to private domains. In the Northern Marianas significantly more ethnic Chamorros claim to speak Chamorro at home (11,819 out of 12,902) than on Guam (25,827 out of 59,381). In addition, on Guam Chamorro is spoken considerably more often in the age groups of 35 and up. Most young Chamorros, especially in central Guam, have few or no competence in their ethnic language. Compared with the census data of the year 2000 (United States Census Bureau 2003, 2004), the ratio of Chamorro speakers to total population has further decreased, again especially on Guam. As Odo (1972) has shown, the language shift among the Chamorro on Guam was already well under way in the early 1970s (see also Underwood 1984, 1987). Revaluation of indigenous culture and language since the 1970s has, until present, not been able to outweigh cultural disintegration on the Marianas (Rapadas, Balajadia, and Rubinstein 2005; Pagel 2010: 40–45).

⁴ To date, the Marianas have been divided into two political zones, of which the northern Mariana Islands (i.e., all except of Guam) represent a commonwealth in political union with the United States, while Guam is an unincorporated territory of the US.

10.2 Question, Aim, Procedure, and Method

The main question addressed in this chapter concerns the genetic and typological status of contemporary or *Modern Chamorro*. This term refers to the stage the Chamorro language entered in the eighteenth century (Pagel 2008, 2010; Rodríguez-Ponga 2013: fn. 13), when the remaining native population merged into an ethnic group comprising Chamorros, Mexicans, Filipinos, and, to a much lesser extent, Spaniards. Consequently, today's Chamorro displays numerous copies from Spanish at all levels of its system – a fact that in the past decades has led many linguists to argue that we are dealing with a 'new language', whose genetic affiliation and typological characteristics are no longer exclusively Malayo-Polynesian but also Romance.⁵ Chamorro has also been characterized as a pidgin and a creole – views against which I argue below. I show that many of the established (and in part widely accepted) assessments of the status of this language are, in fact, highly questionable. A survey and contrasting of different studies that deal with the status of Modern Chamorro, their methods, databases, and scientific and theoretical backgrounds suggests that non-ecological approaches to complex situations of language contact can lead to substantially problematic results. Taking recourse to the data of my own analysis of the Spanish–Chamorro contact in Pagel (2010) I argue that, on genetic as well as on typological grounds, there is no reason to consider Modern Chamorro as a 'new language' in any other but the most general meaning of this term. Although today's Chamorro makes use of a vast number of Spanish copies, the language contact on the Marianas has neither led to the 'birth' of a 'daughter language' with an independent linguistic system, nor to a merging with Spanish or any other systematic hybridization that would question the status of Chamorro as a member of the Malayo-Polynesian language family.

From another perspective, this chapter challenges a common answer to the first of ten questions Haugen (1972) listed as crucial to understanding the ecology of a language: 'What is the language's classification in relation to other languages?' (1972: 336). In order to do so, other questions also mentioned by Haugen (e.g. regarding the domains of use, the users, their attitudes towards the language, concurrent languages, and institutional support) must be addressed. Consequently, I will follow the ecological approach to language and language contact as proposed in the first chapter of this volume. After addressing the notion of a *new language* in historical–genetic and in contact linguistics in section 10.3, I will summarize and update in section 10.4 my own results concerning the Spanish element in Modern Chamorro, published originally in Pagel (2010). This analysis is based on empirical data, collected in a

⁵ Probably the latest example is Rodríguez-Ponga (2009: 41ff.) who groups Chamorro together with Chabacano, Papia Kristang, Tetun Dili, and others in a category called 'Nuevas Lenguas'.

corpus of spoken and written Chamorro between 2001 and 2011. It will provide the descriptive groundwork for a critical discussion in section 10.5 of previous evaluations of Modern Chamorro. Here, different classifications and arguments will be compared, while their plausibility will be measured against the background of several ecological parameters.

Referring to the theoretical apparatus given in Chapters 1 and 2 of this volume, the parameters most relevant for this endeavour are located in all four dimensions: *Speaker*, *Space*, *Time*, and *Language*. The empirical grounding of the analysis is provided by *natural data* as defined by Gadet and Pagel (Chapter 2, this volume; see also Chapter 3, this volume), that is, data taken from types of interactions that can be considered characteristic for a major portion of the Chamorro speech group and that are embedded in a three-level structure (micro-/meso-/macro-ecology). These include unmonitored face-to-face conversations at home, office or in classrooms, but also radio interviews, newspaper articles, and Internet conversations. The ‘natural’ environment of Chamorro interactions encompasses different spatial and temporal attributes, individual and group competences and attitudes, specific discourse traditions and code choices. These interactions are framed by what can be called the *discourse ecology*. In the case of Modern Chamorro, and due to the multiple historical and contemporary contact situations on the Marianas, this ecology is *founded* (in the sense of the term laid out in Chapter 1 of this volume) in several different meso- (e.g. Marianan, Guamanian, urban, rural) and macro-ecologies (e.g. Malayo-Polynesian, Asian, Anglo-American, Hispanic). Speakers of Modern Chamorro can situate themselves in and relate themselves to these ecologies (each of which has its own idealized spatial, temporal, linguistic, and other attributes) depending, among other things, on the semantic and pragmatic contexts of the interaction and by means of their choices in interaction. The paramount question of this chapter – regarding the relationship of Modern Chamorro to the Malayo-Polynesian and Romance language families, to the typological features associated with them, and to the defining criteria of several categories of language hybridization – rests, of course, primarily in the *Language* dimension. But it seems clear in the light of the ecological considerations laid out so far, and will become evident in the analysis in sections 10.4 and 10.5, that the other dimensions must not be excluded if a proper classification of Modern Chamorro is sought. Such an ecology-focused contact–typological classification will be given at the end of section 10.5, before final remarks are formulated in section 10.6.

10.3 What is a ‘New Language’?

In order to answer this question, we must ask first: what is *a language*? Evidently, the phenomena subsumed under this term are not elements of the

natural world but social constructs relating to highly abstract phenomena. Any definition (and study) of *a language* thus essentially depends on metaphors, analogies and other means of visualization (see Chapters 1 and 2, this volume). In Western linguistic thought biological analogues have a firm stand since at least the nineteenth century, although, as Noonan (2010: 52) observes, an explanation why language is apparently the *only* cultural artefact for which biological analogues are considered to be valid has yet to be given. Perhaps the most influential of these analogues is that of the *genetic relatedness* of languages, established as a scientific paradigm in the nineteenth century when wide-ranging similarities also between geographically very distant languages were discovered. Inspired by the biological sciences, historical linguistics conceptualized languages as unitary organisms and their genetic relation as the result of asexual reproduction (parthenogenesis) (see Pagel 2018). This conceptualization lies at the heart of the so-called *Stammbaum* or *family tree model* of genetic relationship, which is practically unrivalled until today, although interesting alternatives have been proposed (e.g. by Croft 2000 and Mufwene 2001, 2008 who argue for the conceptualization of languages as *populations*; see also Noonan 2010: 52, 55).⁶ When we ask ‘what is language X?’, then the family tree model of genetic relationship, more than any other, is the central point of orientation: Spanish, for example, is said to be a member of the group of Romance languages in the Italic branch of the Indo-European language family. Within the family tree model, then

two languages are said to be genetically related if they descend from a common ancestor. Since it is at least theoretically possible that all languages descend from a common ancestor, languages are usually claimed to be related only if their relatedness can be established through the comparative method or some alternative procedure. (Noonan 2010: 52)

Genetic relationship is established primarily by means of *diachronic analysis*. Establishment can therefore be difficult if few or no diachronic data of the language is available. In principle, however, any natural, spoken language is thought to have genetic relationship: *a language X*, we can conclude at this point, is a construct (social, historical, cultural, and political) that is thought to be genetically related to other constructs of the same kind. If no genetic

⁶ In fact, these two observations are connected: the scientific success of the family tree model must not be explained by its conceptual superiority but precisely by the dominance of the understanding of *a language* as an organism-like entity. The family tree model simply fits best for this understanding, and a different understanding of *a language* would necessarily result in a different model for relationship. In other words: concepts like *language family*, *genetic relationship of languages*, and also *language contact* mainly exist because Western linguistic thought conceptualizes *languages* as organism-like entities (see Toulmin’s 1972 evolutionary model of conceptual change and the notion of *intellectual ecology*, Roggenbuck 1999, 2005 for interesting discussions on the importance of the tree metaphor in linguistics, and Pagel 2018 for a detailed history of the contact linguistic paradigm, which is inseparable from 19th century biologism in linguistics).

relationship to any other language can be established, this means that there is insufficient diachronic data and/or that the related languages are extinct or not yet discovered; until further evidence is adduced, the language in question is then considered to be an *isolate*.

With regard to Chamorro, there is sufficient agreement that the Marianas were settled from insular South-East Asia, most likely from the Philippines or the Sunda Islands, around 1500–1000 BC, and that Chamorro society and language developed in relative isolation from other Pacific societies and languages (Topping 1973; Denoon 1997; Blust 2000; Zobel 2002). In the historical–genetic framework, Chamorro language has been classified as an independent branch in the Malayo-Polynesian group of the Austronesian language family (Dyen 1965; Greenhill, Blust, and Gray 2008). Evidence for further subgrouping appears to be inconclusive (Blust 2000: 104), but attempts have been made to place Chamorro in a Western-Malayo-Polynesian subgroup (Blust 1977, 2000) and in a Sunda–Sulawesi branch of a Nuclear-Malayo-Polynesian subgroup (Zobel 2002).

After this outline of what the notion of *a language X* in the family tree model of genetic relationship conveys, we can explicate further what the notion of *a new language* indicates in the same framework. Noonan's (2010: 54) summary of the basic assumptions of the family tree model is helpful in this regard:

- 1 Languages are unitary systems: they are wholes, not entities defined by their parts (the unitary organism analogy).
- 2 Two languages are genetically related if they descend from a single common ancestor (the parthenogenesis analogy).
- 3 New languages can only be created by splitting off from an existing language (the parthenogenesis analogy).
- 4 Linguistic splits are final and produce independent linguistic systems (the parthenogenesis analogy).
- 5 No linguistic feature or set of features is required for genetic relationships to exist between two languages (though such features are required for establishing such relations) (the unitary organism analogy).
- 6 Language contact is irrelevant for determining genetic relationships (the unitary organism and parthenogenesis analogies).

According to assumptions 3 and 4 'new languages' come into existence only by splitting off from *one* existing language, and these splits are always final and irreversible. Assumption 5 adds that genetic affiliation is the result of common descent, not of (synchronically) shared inventory of features, and thus can never be changed. In Joseph Greenberg's words: 'a historical fact cannot be annulled. A language which is Germanic cannot "become" Romance' (1999: 355). But shared inventory of features is required for the establishment of

genetic relationship; here the comparative method mentioned above comes into play. Finally, assumption 6 shows that possible effects of language contact on languages are not denied in the historical–genetic framework but considered irrelevant for the notion of genetic relationship.

If we ask then, with Noonan (2010: 49ff.), what precisely *genetic relationship between languages* means, the view expressed by the family tree model and historical–genetic linguistics follows a ‘generational transmission approach’:

In this way of looking at things, assessing the genetic relatedness of languages amounts to assessing the history of the generational transmission of linguistic traditions. By ‘generational transmission of linguistic traditions’ I mean the acquisition by children of essentially the same linguistic system that their parents acquired as children. (50)

Concerning the main question of this chapter, we can state clearly at this point that Modern Chamorro, as opposed to Old or Pre-contact Chamorro, cannot be considered a *new language* in the classical historical–genetic meaning of that term. This would require the splitting off from another existing language, typically defined by regular structural (especially phonological) changes, and there is no evidence whatsoever for such a process. Since Chamorro has no indigenous writing system, documentation of pre-contact stages of this language is also very scarce (and in fact limited to the grammar and catechism of Father Sanvitores and some early wordlists). Analyses of these data (e.g. Burrus 1954; Rodríguez-Ponga 2013; Winkler 2013), however, confirm that we are dealing with essentially the same linguistic system and suggest that the differences between Old/Pre-contact and Modern Chamorro should be captured in contact linguistic rather than in historical–genetic dimensions.

This raises the question how *genetic relationship* can be interpreted if contact linguistic considerations are taken into account. Noonan adds to the ‘generational transmission approach’ expressed in the family tree model two other approaches he labels ‘essentialist’ and ‘hybrid’. The ‘essentialist’ position

maintains that there are certain linguistic features, consisting both of grammatical morphemes and characteristic morphosyntactic features, that must be transmitted along a genetic line for a language to be considered a member of a given taxonomic unit. This is not to say that these features over time cannot change. It maintains only that in assessing potential mother-daughter relationships, these features must be transmitted; language relatedness is assessed along chains of transmission of these features from mother language to daughter language. (2010: 50)

But only the third approach allows for true ‘mixing’ or ‘hybridity’ in the assessment of genetic relations between languages:

A hybrid approach takes the position that a language is a collection of entities (morphemes, grammatical constructs, etc.) that may have multiple sources. At some point, the mixture of forms may become so great as to preclude the assignment of the language

to a specific taxon within a hierarchy of taxonomic levels, though it might still easily be placed within a higher level. Most linguists these days would concede that true ‘mixed languages’ exist, e.g. Copper Island Aleut, Michif, Media Lengua, etc., but would relegate them to a category outside the normal development of languages – that is, outside any genetic line. Others would include creoles in the category of hybrid languages, while still others would include in this category at least some non-creoles as well. (Noonan 2010: 51)

Contrary to the assumptions of the ‘generational transmission approach’, language contact can seriously blur genetic relationships and even create ‘new languages’, according to the ‘essentialist’ and the ‘hybrid approach’ to genetic relationship. These *mixed* or *contact languages* (Thomason 1997) cannot, by definition, be incorporated in any existing genetic line, because they have at least two parental languages, which is a contradiction to the parthenogenesis analogy constituting the family tree model (see above). This theoretical problem has been discussed in detail by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), who arrived at the conclusion that

mixed languages do not fit within the genetic model and therefore **cannot be classified genetically at all; but most languages are not mixed**, and the traditional family tree model of diversification and genetic relationship remains the main reference point of comparative-historical linguistics. (3, emphasis original)

Although this exclusion of ‘mixed languages’ from the family tree model of genetic relationship is of a technical nature (see Thomason 1997), it suggests (and perhaps also reflects) an interpretation of these languages as somewhat ‘abnormal’ or ‘unnatural’ (see Chapter 2, this volume), given that this model dominates our understanding of language. In fact, ‘mixed languages’ have been treated as ‘exotic’, to say the least, in linguistics ever since the constitution of the historical–genetic paradigm in the nineteenth century (see, e.g., Müller’s 1862 axiom of the unmixability of grammar, Thomason 2002 and Mufwene’s response 2003, and especially Pagel 2018). Combined with the observation (made already by, e.g., Van Name 1869–70, Clough 1876, and Whitney 1881) that, due to their own long history of contacts, European languages such as English or the Romance languages display high degrees of ‘mixture’ themselves, such a distinction can be (and has been) interpreted as strongly Eurocentric. A more neutral model of genetic relationship with an explanatory power similar to that of the family tree model is, however, not in sight. The question of how much ‘mixture’ is needed to form a ‘new language’ should therefore be approached from the perspective of models of language contact.

At least since Whitney (1881), most models covering the whole range of processes and outcomes of contact-induced language change comprise three distinct categories, labelled, for example, *language maintenance*, *language*

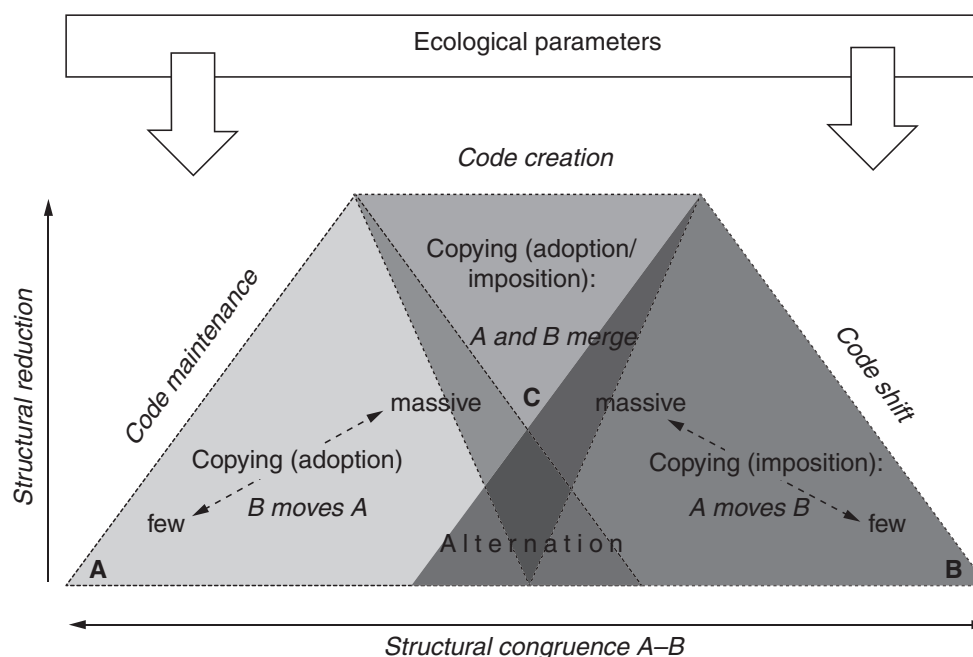


Figure 10.1 A continuous model of contact-induced change (Pagel 2015:167)

shift, and *language creation*. In modern versions (e.g. Winford 2003: 23–24) these categories are modelled as strictly separate; the first two typically encompass processes conceptualized as scalar (e.g., *borrowing* or *diffusion* in the first, and *interference* in the second), while the third category consists of three separated types of ‘new’ contact languages: pidgins, creoles, and bilingual mixed languages. The theoretical problems of autonomous categories, autonomous ‘new language’ types, and misleading metaphors in the conventional contact linguistic terminology are discussed in detail in Pagel (2015) where also an alternative model of contact-induced change is proposed. This model conceptualizes contact-induced language change as an essentially continuous space and proposes a more adequate terminology. I refer to this model in the following (see Figure 10.1). Its basic geometry consists of three overlapping triangles, each of which represents one mode of contact-induced change. From left to right, these are *code maintenance*, *code creation*, and *code shift*.

Three idealized codes – A, B, and C – serve as points of reference in these modes: code A represents one of two codes in contact (the one under scrutiny in a given investigation) and in the form of ‘ideal maintenance’ (speakers of A maintain unaltered A as their primary code) also one potential outcome of the contact; code B represents the other of two codes in contact and in the form of ‘ideal shift’ (speakers of A replace A with unaltered B as their primary code)

another potential outcome of the contact; code C represents a code created in the contact as the result of A and B merging.⁷ The continuous character of the model allows for any point in the space spanning between A, B, and the upper edge of the creation mode to be occupied by a given outcome of language contact at a given time.

The three modes are primarily *diachronic constituents* and must be set apart from the *processes* of contact-induced change. In order to achieve terminological clarity and adequacy (and following Johanson 2002a and Kriegel, Ludwig and Henri 2009; see also Chapter 7, this volume), I distinguish only two processes: *code copying* and *code alternation*. As laid out in detail in the mentioned contributions, these processes cover what has traditionally been called *borrowing*, *interference*, *transfer*, *calquing*, *code mixing*, and *code switching*. *Code copying* and *code alternation* represent synchronic strategies of the speakers in contact, and in the form of *conventionalized copies* also synchronic results of copying, propagation, and conventionalization at a later stage of contact. A major innovation of this model is that *code creation* is situated between *maintenance* and *shift* whereby the three modes are set in a precise relation to each other. Results of code creation such as ‘new languages’ can thus be understood as products of processes exceeding both massive copying through adoption in the maintenance of code A and massive copying through imposition in the shift to code B. In fact, the processes of adoption and imposition become indistinguishable in code creation, where, by definition, codes A and B merge. As a consequence, a ‘new language’ C can be interpreted from the perspective of both the maintenance and the shift mode. In the continuous space of the code creation mode prototypical ‘new’ or contact languages such as pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixed languages, and also less prototypical and borderline cases can be located and related to each other.

Finally, all outcomes of contact-induced change can be measured in two dimensions: horizontally, the structural congruence between A and B (always increasing relative to A and B prior to contact), and vertically the structural reduction involved (typically increasing relative to the *combined* features of A and B prior to contact). Influencing on the speakers’ code choices and thereby activating certain processes of contact-induced change are a theoretically indefinite number of ecological parameters, in the sense laid out in Chapter 1, this volume.

⁷ Note that this is a simplified view that has been adopted for the sake of clarity and transparency of the model. Most contact situations, especially those in which ‘new languages’ emerge, involve more than two participating codes. However, the processes responsible are identical, and the levels of explanation of this model are thus not affected. In principle, the model in its two-dimensional form can be extended by a third or fourth dimension, covering other languages in contact with A. See Pagel (2015) for further details.

We can sum up this section by stating that the notion of *a new language* is not the same in historical–genetic and in contact linguistics. The applicability of the historical–genetic meaning of this term for Modern Chamorro already ruled out, it is the contact linguistics understanding of *a new language* as well as the types that are traditionally subsumed under this term that will be in the focus of the subsequent evaluation of Modern Chamorro and its genetic and typological status.

10.4 The Spanish Element in Modern Chamorro

The following excerpt is from an article published in the *Guam Pacific Daily News*, Guam’s largest and generally Anglophone daily newspaper, in February 2011 (Onedera 2011b). At the time of writing this section, it was the most recent lengthy example of written Modern Chamorro and was chosen for this purpose only. The transcript consists of three lines: the first and second lines represent the Chamorro text and translation as printed in the newspaper. The third has the text orthographically adapted, broken into morphemes and with Hispanisms underlined (dotted when uncertain):

Example 1: *Modern Chamorro (Ch.GPDN11-2)*

- 01 *Siempre lokkue' ma monstra i gayera sa' fotte este gi i kinalamten lao sin gambolet na manera.*

Some will also present a demonstration of cockfighting as this is also considered a form of pastime, sans the gambling aspect.

Siempre lokkue' ma-monstra i gayera sa' fotte este gi i k-in-alamten lao sin gambolet na manera.

- 02 *Manma hatsa lokkue' sade' gani siha ya i famagu'on duru manma dimimoria lalai, kanta yan baila siha ni' u fanma presenta gi dinanna' huntan eskuela.*

Chamorro huts will be constructed and many children are busy learning chants, songs, and dances that will be presented at numerous school assemblies.

Man-ma-hatsa lokkue' sade' gani siha ya i famagu'on duru man-ma-dimimoria lalai, kanta yan baila siha ni' u-fan-ma-presenta gi d-in-aña' hunta-n eskuela.

- 03 *Manma baba i eskuela siempre ya manminagagu i famagu'on, manma'estra/tro yan emplehao siha gi tradisiunat na mestisa ya manma usa kadenan flores yan mantinihong nu i tihong tiniffok niyok.*

Open houses will also be conducted and children, teachers and school personnel will adorn floral leis and the traditional mestiza as well as woven coconut hats.

Man-ma-baba i eskuela siempre ya man-m-in-agagu i famagu'on, man-ma'estra/tro yan emplehao siha gi tradisiunat na mestisa ya man-ma-usa kadena-n flores yan man-t-in-ihong nu i tihong t-in-ifok niyok.

- 04 *Bula na lalahi mansinade' ya manma katga lansa taiguihi i manansianu na gereron Chamorro siha.*

Many boys will also wear the sade' or loin cloth and will carry thick, long wooden sticks to depict the ancient Chamorro warrior with a spear in his hand.

Bula na lalahi man-s-in-ade' ya man-ma-katga lansa taiguihi i man-ansianu na gerero-n Chamorro siha.

- 05 *Siempre u guaha find'estoria ginen manma' gas kumunilat yan manamko' ni' u ma empatte estoria put gera, hinengge put i taotaomo'na yan espiriton manansianu, put inamten amot Chamorro yan kontodu estorian lina'la' gi i sengsong yan lancho siha ni' manma chalappon gi enteru i isla.*

There will be storytelling with community leaders and elderly enlisted to share stories of war experiences, superstitious beliefs, herbal medicines and massages and other tales of life in the villages and ranches scattered throughout the island.

Siempre u-guaha f-in-a'-estoria ginen man-ma' gas kumunilat yan man-amko' ni' u-ma-empatte estoria put gera, h-in-engge put i taotao-mo'na yan espirito-n man-ansianu, put in-amte-n amot Chamorro yan kontodu estoria-n l-in-a'la' gi i sengsong yan lancho siha ni' man-ma-chalapon gi enteru i isla.

- 06 *Para u guaha misa, kuentos pumeska yan nabigasiunat, tinanna' yan find'tinas inacha'ikak parehu lokkue' yan find'huegu siha gi todugat [. . .]*

There will be a liturgical celebration, navigational and fishing demonstrations and lectures, food tasting and culinary competitions as well as games of skills throughout the island.

Para u-guaha misa, kuentos p-um-eska yan nabigasiunat, t-in-aña' yan find'tinas in-acha'-ikak parehu lokkue' yan f-in-a'-huegu siha gi todugat.

Contrary to copies from English, all Hispanisms in Chamorro must be considered conventionalized (instead of interactional/spontaneous/nonce) copies. This is due to the simple fact that Spanish, aside from being the first European language to have been introduced to the islands and used there for centuries, has not been widely spoken on the Marianas for more than a century, hence awareness as to the source of these elements is, as a rule, not given. A quantitative analysis of the excerpt above shows that of 188 tokens 55 are unambiguously of Spanish origin, and that another one is a very probable candidate (01, *kalamten*, see Rodríguez-Ponga 1995: 355 ‘¿< calambre “contacto eléctrico”?’). These 56 tokens make up roughly 30 per cent of the text. A more ambiguous case in the text is the definite article Ch. *i*, which could be derived from Sp. *el*, but the data is not conclusive with regard to this (Pagel 2010: 76–80). If we add all instances of Ch. *i* to the side of Hispanisms too, these would number 66 and make up 35 per cent of the tokens in the text. Both figures confirm to the results obtained in Pagel (2010: 53–60; see also Bowen 1971: 949). They conflict, however, sharply with observations made by Albalá and Rodríguez-Ponga (1986) and Rodríguez-Ponga (1995), according to which

En general . . . las palabras de origen español que usan los hablantes actuales del Chamorro constituyen entre un 50 y un 60% de su léxico. (Rodríguez-Ponga 1995: 92)

[In general . . . the words of Spanish origin used by the current speakers of Chamorro make up between 50 and 60 per cent of its lexicon. (my translation)]

As pointed out in Pagel (2010: 53–60), these figures may not be representative of the Hispanisms actually in use in Chamorro, owing to methodological inconsistencies in the way the data were obtained.⁸ Nonetheless, they have been repeatedly decisive in the discussions of the genetic and contact-typological status of Modern Chamorro. I will return to this issue in section 10.5.

Regarding the quality of the data, Hispanisms in Chamorro can be subdivided into at least three groups, according to their level of significance in the overall system of the language (Pagel 2010: 131–133): a first group consists of Hispanisms that have become systemically indispensable, as they are highly grammaticalized and have no functional autochthonous alternatives. In this group we find determiners such as the indefinite article *un* (< Sp. *un*; for an insightful discussion, see Stolz 2010 and 2012); possibly the definite article *i* (< Sp. *el?*); the demonstrative *este* ‘this’ (< Sp. *este*); a number of prepositions such as *sin* ‘without’ (line 01, < Sp. *sin*) and *put* ‘about’ (line 05, < Sp. *por*), which gave the traditionally agglutinating morphology of Chamorro a more analytical character; the grammaticalized marker for irrealis modality or future tense Ch. *para*, and the adverb or second future tense marker *siempre* (lines 01, 05, 06, < Sp. *para* ‘for, in order to’, Sp. *siempre* ‘always’; for a recent discussion on their status see Chamorro 2012); and, to mention just one more, the comparative construction Ch. *mas . . . ki* ‘more . . . / . . . -er than’ (< Sp. *más . . . que*).

The second group consists of Hispanisms that have become important to Chamorro’s system but are not entirely indispensable, as they alternate with autochthonous or other non-Hispanic alternatives. Here we will find, e.g., a number of discourse markers, competing in modern speech with equivalents from English, and quantifiers like *todu* ‘all, whole’ (line 06, < Sp. *todo*) and *kada* ‘every, each’ (Sp. *cada*). But it is above all the numerous lexical Hispanisms that make up this second group, as many of these have more or less synonymic autochthonous counterparts (e.g. *buenu* [Sp. *bueno*] vs. *maolek* ‘good’, *bida* [Sp. *vida*] vs. *cho’gue* ‘do’, *lengguahi* [Sp. *lenguaje*] vs. *fino*, Salas Palomo and Stolz 2008: 245).

The third and last group comprises Hispanisms that are rather marginal in the system, because they represent optional operations and, in general, have not become productive on autochthonous stems. Here we find, e.g., fossils of

⁸ The most important ones are that a dictionary and not actual texts were the primary source used, and that it was thus a quantitative analysis on the level of lexical words only and not on the level of morphemes constituting a text. In other words, ‘non-natural’ data, in the sense laid out in Chapter 2, this volume, has been consulted.

the Spanish gender system, as in line 03: *maestra/o* ‘female/masculine teacher’. Grammatical gender agreement, as in Spanish, is rarely found in Chamorro, and in fact seems to be restricted to a handful of copied pairs (especially with *bunitu/-a* ‘beautiful’ as in *i isla bunita* ‘the beautiful [FEM.] island [FEM.]’; but see line 05 *gi enteru i isla* ‘on the whole [Sp. MASC.] island [Sp. FEM.]’). Other members of this last group are diminutive and augmentative suffixes (e.g. *-itu/-ita*), which are, by and large, restricted to vocabulary copied from Spanish, and the plural suffix *-(e)s*, which is maintained in form and function in a few pairs covering mostly units of measurement such as *ora/oras* ‘hour/-s’ (< Sp. *hora/-s*) or *metro/metros* ‘meter/-s’ (< Sp. *metro/-s*), or is simply fossilized in otherwise singular forms like *flores* ‘flower’ (line 03, < Sp. *flores*) or *kuentos* ‘story’ (line 06, < Sp. *cuentos*).

In sum, the impact of Spanish on Chamorro is significant. Hispanisms make up a considerable part of its lexicon and have also found their way into the language’s structure. In a few cases even highly grammatical areas have been affected by the contact with Spanish. Nevertheless, the majority of the grammatical categories as well as the typological core of Chamorro language (including its predominantly agglutinative morphology, split ergative alignment, and VSO basic word order) have not been affected in a significant way (see Pagel 2010: 50–133 for more details).

On this basis the following section will focus on the genetic and contact-typological status of Modern Chamorro, with reference to previous classifications and arguments as well as the ecological frame of the Spanish–Chamorro contact. There is perhaps no other language in contact with Spanish that has received so many divergent contact–typological interpretations, which range from a rather superficial ‘touch’ of Spanish, to the pidginization of ancient Chamorro or the creolization of Spanish, up to, as is quoted in the title of this chapter, contact-induced changes that lead to the emergence of ‘the opposite of an anti-creole’.

10.5 Assessing Modern Chamorro

One of the earliest hypotheses concerning a changing genetic relationship of Modern Chamorro must indeed be considered hypothetical in the first place. Studying Chamorro’s core vocabulary, Fischer (1961) extracts about 20 per cent of items copied from Spanish – a high number in comparison to Swadesh’s results from a number of indigenous languages of Latin America, which for the most part were considered to have had a longer contact history with Spanish:

The number of borrowed words entering the basic vocabulary in 430 years (nineteen words) is considerably larger than the highest number reported by Swadesh in examining

about 200 American Indian test vocabularies. The highest among these was six Spanish loans in a period of about 400 years in Mecayapan Nahuatl. (Fischer 1961: 261)

To underscore the consequences of his findings, Fischer sketches the following scenario:

Note . . . that if the introduction of Spanish words into Chamorro should continue at this rate for a total of two millennia, loan words would be in the majority in the basic vocabulary, and only 37% of the basic vocabulary would be 'native'. Since the basic vocabulary has been thought to be the most resistant part of the lexicon, perhaps *in this hypothetical case* the rest of the lexicon would consist even more predominantly of loan words. *If we further suppose* that historical records of this process of borrowing were not available, *we may speculate* whether future linguists would regard this future Chamorro as Austronesian or Indo-European. (1961: 261–262, emphasis mine)

It is important to take Fischer at his word here: he is setting out a 'hypothetical case', he 'suppose[s]' and 'speculate[s]' in order to confront his findings in Chamorro with Swadesh's glottochronological hypothesis. Chamorro seems to contradict Swadesh's finding of a relatively constant retention rate in a number of contact situations. Contact-induced change apparently occurred at a higher, faster rate in Chamorro. Nonetheless, Fischer does not provide a genetic or contact–typological evaluation of the language as an Austronesian–Indo-European mixed language. In order to do so it would have been imperative to include contact-induced change in the grammar of the language, which is explicitly beyond the scope of Fischer's study (the title being 'The retention rate of Chamorro basic vocabulary'). Nor does the author present a true prediction on the future status of Chamorro: the scenario set out by him was already obsolete at the time of his writing. Chamorro's contact situation with Spanish had declined radically in importance from 1898 until the 1950s, and at the beginning of the 1960s a community-wide language shift to English was on the horizon (and was documented for Guam by Odo 1972). There was hardly a chance that the scenario would become reality. We may conclude then that Fischer didn't seriously doubt the (synchronic) Austronesian character of Chamorro when writing his article.

Fischer's often quoted labelling of Modern Chamorro as 'a pidgin' (1961: 262) must be interpreted with similar caution. The author departs from the observation that his informants remarkably often disagreed about the 'correct' translations of the words from the Swadesh list into Chamorro: in 19 per cent of the cases (18 words) the speakers had given more than one possible translation. It was, however, hardly ever an Austronesian form competing with a Hispanic one but almost always more than one option with an Austronesian etymology. It is hence not the Spanish appearance of Chamorro but the apparent variability in the core vocabulary of the language that Fischer considers

reminiscent of a pidgin situation in which bilinguals of different native language background may tend to favor words derived from their own language in speaking the pidgin. It may be suggestive to speak of Chamorro as something like a pidgin based on the language of the inferior group rather than on that of the superior group as is more common. (1961: 262)

Incidentally, the variability observed can often be attributed to methodological flaws. For instance, the three informants had submitted their translations in written form and were apparently never asked to explain why their lexical choices varied among them. Thus, the kinds of ‘alternations’ observed by Fischer are often the result of simple misunderstandings or ignorance of Chamorro’s structure. A case in point is that of word number 3 in the list: the English pronoun 1PL *we*. It is underspecified from the point of view of Chamorro and is accordingly translated in three different ways by the informants: as *hit* (= pronoun 1PL.INCL), *hita* (= pronoun 1PL.INCL.EMPH), and *hame* (= pronoun 1PL.EXCL.EMPH) (Fischer 1961: 258). All three translations are acceptable in Chamorro, because this language makes a four-way distinction for the first person plural: inclusive/exclusive and non-emphatic/emphatic. In other words, the alternations noted by Fischer are grammatical and not lexical. Another interesting example is word number 17, Eng. *man*, which two of the informants translated as *taotao* ‘human being, person, people’ and the third as *lahe* ‘man’ (ibid.: 259). Here, of course, the polysemy of the English lexeme, not variability in the core vocabulary of Chamorro gives an explanation for the perceived alternation.

Seen in this context, it is hard to agree with Fischer’s conclusion that Chamorro may be considered as a pidgin (though see Rodríguez-Ponga 1998: 514 or Munteanu 1997: 961), especially when *pidgin* is understood as a simplified but structured auxiliary language that lacks native speakers (e.g. Bakker 2008, Velupillai 2015). The absence of natural data in Fischer’s study and an explicit focus on the core vocabulary preclude such a conclusion.

For Donald Topping (1973), author of a comprehensive grammar, dictionary and textbook of Chamorro, morphosyntax and phonology, not vocabulary are the levels on which a contact–typological classification must be based. Generally speaking, Topping considers these areas in Chamorro as untouched by Spanish. He applies the picture of a body with some flesh added but an unaltered skeleton:

There was wholesale borrowing of Spanish words and phrases into Chamorro, and there was even some borrowing from the sound system. But this borrowing was linguistically superficial. The bones of the Chamorro language remained intact: a little Spanish flesh was added through vocabulary borrowing, but Chamorro remained basically Chamorro. (Topping 1973: 6)

According to this perspective (and in a sense contrary to Fischer’s assumption), the contact with Spanish has not had a more significant impact on

Chamorro than it had on other indigenous languages in Latin America or the Philippines. In his own words (same paragraph): ‘While Spanish may have left a lasting mark on Chamorro as it did on many Philippine and South American languages, it had virtually no effect on Chamorro grammar’ (1973: 7).⁹

Objections against this view are raised by Albalá and Rodríguez-Ponga (1986). In their extensive study of the linguistic and cultural contact with Spanish on the Marianas they conclude that the more systemic levels of Modern Chamorro, too, display remarkable influences of the former colonial language:

Como veremos a continuación, la influencia del español se encuentra tanto en el vocabulario como en la gramática y la fonología. (Albalá and Rodríguez-Ponga 1986: 66)

[As we will see in the following, the influence of Spanish can be observed in the vocabulary as well as in the grammar and the phonology (my translation)]

Con cierta frecuencia se lee que el chamorro sólo recibió influencia española en el vocabulario, dejando intacta la gramática. Sin embargo, cualquier estudio, por poco profundo que sea, puede descubrir enormes influencias gramaticales españolas en chamorro. (ibid.: 73)

[One often reads that Chamorro shows influence from the contact with Spanish exclusively at the level of vocabulary, leaving intact the grammar. Nevertheless, every study, even the least profound, can discover enormous grammatical influences from Spanish in Chamorro. (my translation)]

According to Albalá and Rodríguez-Ponga, the Spanish influence on Chamorro can be observed at all linguistic levels. Reapplying Topping’s metaphor, Chamorro then would have been Hispanized ‘down to the bones’. The consequences of such a statement for (contact–) typological and genetic classifications of the language are far-reaching, but seem to be underestimated by the authors. Albalá and Rodríguez-Ponga chose a term that allows for an interpretation of Chamorro as an Austronesian and an Indo-European language at the same time, but one that has also been traditionally delicate in linguistics:

Hoy el Chamorro aparece más como una lengua mixta, de base austronésica, con fuerte penetración española. Por eso su filiación debe considerarse en estas dos direcciones. (ibid.: 66)

[Today Chamorro is more like a mixed language with an Austronesian base and strong Spanish penetration. That’s why its affiliation has to be spotted in these two directions. (my translation)]

⁹ More than a decade earlier Solenberger (1962: 59) had put it in a similar way: ‘Although during the 18th century Chamorro absorbed, usually in modified form, a great many Spanish loan words, it retains its Indonesian grammatical structure.’

What appears to be an elegant solution at first sight quickly becomes problematic. The authors do not discuss the term *lingua mixta* ‘mixed language’ in its historical context and, more importantly, fail to equip it with explanatory power in order to make it a productive category in contact linguistics. Two questions would have been crucial here:

- 1 How is the quantitative and qualitative relation between autochthonous Austronesian and contact-induced Indo-European elements in Modern Chamorro (on the different linguistic levels)?
- 2 What quantitative and qualitative criteria define a contact language as ‘mixed’ and thus sufficiently distinguish the languages classified in this category from other outcomes of language contact?

Regarding the first question, Albalá and Rodríguez-Ponga (1986) present an impressive catalogue of Hispanisms at the levels of vocabulary, phonology and morphosyntax in Chamorro, one that is being completed in later contributions in which also the term *mixed language* is maintained (Albalá 1997, 2000; Rodríguez-Ponga 1989, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2009). With the exception of the vocabulary, however, convincing statistics on the number and proportion of Hispanisms in Chamorro and general qualitative considerations are missing, as well as a functional definition of *mixed language*.

It is a few years later that Bakker and Mous (1994a, 1994b) assess the heuristic potential of this term. By *mixed language* they designate the results of a process called *language intertwining* in which subsystems of two languages A and B merge into a new language C. Contrary to other types of contact languages like creole or pidgin, where the precise origin of specific linguistic material is often diffuse, the languages involved in intertwining situations are known and their number is restricted to two. At least one of the speech communities in the contact was largely bilingual when the mixed language emerged.¹⁰ Furthermore, the respective subsystems can be reconstructed and attributed for the most part to a specific language and there is no or little overall simplification (see Thomason 1997). An explanation of the unique ‘mixture’ claimed for mixed/intertwined languages (which, according to Greenberg 1999: 356, would be a result of an ‘unnatural’ process) has been sought in a distinctive bicultural identity of its speakers (Muysken 1981; Bakker and Mous 1994a; Bakker and Muysken 1995; Croft 2003; Matras and Bakker 2003; McWhorter 2005).

A prototypical mixed/intertwined language is *Media Lengua*, spoken in Ecuador. An etymological split has been observed here along a hypothetical

¹⁰ The term *intertwined language* is preferred by some linguists, and is indeed a less ambiguous one. For the sake of clarity I will use *mixed/intertwined language* in the remainder of this chapter.

axis that separates lexicon from grammar. Media Lengua, mixed/intertwined language C, recruited its semantics and morphosyntax from Ecuadorian Quechua (or Quichua), language A, and its lexicon from Spanish, language B. According to Muysken (1997: 378), ‘Media Lengua is [basically] Quechua with Spanish stems’. Here is an example, in which Hispanisms are underlined.

Example 2: Media Lengua (Muysken 1997: 377, translation original)

*Media Lengua-ga así Ingichu-munda Castallanu-da abla-na kiri-xu-sha,
Media Lengua-TOP thus Quechua-from Spanish-ACC talk-NOM want-PROG-SUB
no abla-naku-ndu-mi asi, chaupi-ga Castellanu laya, i chaupi-ga Ingichu laya
not talk-pl-SUB-AFF thus, half-TOP Spanish like, and half-TOP Quechua like
abla-ri-na ga-n. Isi-ga asi nustru barrio-ga asi kostumbri-n abla-na.
talk-REFL-NOM be-3. This-TOP thus our community-TOP thus accustomed-3
talk-NOM.*

‘Media Lengua is thus if you want to talk Spanish from Quechua, but you can’t, then you talk half like Spanish, and half like Quechua. In our community we are accustomed to talking this way’.

The agglutinating morphology of Quechua, realized almost exclusively by means of suffixes, is as clear here as is the Spanish etymology of most lexical items at the left edge of the phrases. Both languages indeed seem to intertwine and there is, at first glance, no indication of the structural simplification assumed for creole and pidgin languages (the exact meaning of *simplification* and its relation to *restructuring* remaining a theoretical problem: see e.g. DeGraff 2003; McWhorter 2011). In other words, Media Lengua’s grammar is as complex as that of the model language of this subsystem, Quechua.¹¹

With regard to the lexicon, Bakker and Mous (1994b) give rather precise statistics for the languages of the mixed/intertwined type. As it seems, they surpass in magnitudes the well-known cases of ‘extreme borrowing’ (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), or *massive copying* in our terminology:

As for the proportion, one can see that extreme borrowing never exceeds roughly 45% of the lexicon, whereas in some of the mixed languages discussed the proportion of ‘foreign’ lexical elements is closer to or over 90%. (Bakker and Mous 1994b: 5)

With these figures as a starting point, Stolz (1998) takes up the mixed/intertwined language hypothesis for Chamorro once again. Relying, however, on the figure of 54.9 per cent Hispanisms calculated by Rodríguez-Ponga (1995), he is unable to avoid the conclusion that

¹¹ Following the argumentation in Greenberg (1999), of course, Media Lengua is still Quechua and has not become anything else. This opinion seems to be shared by Gómez Rendón (2005, 2007) and Shappek (2011).

Von einer Mischsprache kann bezogen auf das Chamorro nur in einem eher unspezifischen Sinn die Rede sein, der lediglich die nicht näher quantifizierte Kopräsenz von Elementen aus genetisch unterschiedlichen Quellen als Kriterium setzt. (Stolz 1998: 19–20)

[One can speak of Chamorro as a mixed language only in a rather unspecific sense – one that has as its criteria merely the co-presence of elements from genetically different sources which are not quantified any further. (my translation)]

It is likely that Albalá and Rodríguez-Ponga had this unspecific sense in mind in characterizing Chamorro as a ‘*lengua mixta*’. An indication is given by Rodríguez-Ponga (2001) who both defends the labelling *mixed language* and, at the same time, suggests a classification of Chamorro as a creole.¹² According to his taxonomy, the latter seem to be only *one* possible manifestation of mixed languages:

No se trata, pues, de una lengua equiparable a otras lenguas austronésicas, porque no es solamente esto: es una lengua mixta hispano-austronésica, como vengo defendiendo desde hace años. Y una lengua nueva, que incorpora elementos de una lengua europea y de una lengua indígena, que es el resultado del contacto en una situación de plurilingüismo en un determinado lugar, como efecto de un proceso de colonización, ¿no se llama lengua criolla? (Rodríguez-Ponga 2001: 277)

[It is not a language comparable to other Austronesian languages because it’s not only that: it is a mixed Spanish–Austronesian language, as I’ve been writing for years. And a new language, incorporating elements of a European and an indigenous language, which is the result of contact in a situation of multilingualism in a certain place, as an effect of a colonization process – is it not called a creole? (my translation)]

Other linguists, such as Thomason (1997, 2001b) or McWhorter (2005), have made similar proposals. In particular, Thomason distinguishes between, on the one hand, *bilingual mixed languages*, which correspond largely to the type laid out by Bakker and Mous (1994a, 1994b), and, on the other, *mixed* or *contact languages* as a general term covering *bilingual mixed languages*, *creoles*, and *pidgins*. The term *mixed/contact languages* thus separates the three mentioned types from other outcomes of contact-induced change such as *code maintenance* or *code shift* and coincides in this sense with the *code creation* mode in Figure 10.1. However, it is questionable what insights could be gained

¹² He is apparently referring to a classification of Alvar (1986) here which, in turn, is probably based on the research by Albalá and Rodríguez-Ponga: ‘Pero Filipinas no quedó sola en Oriente y junto al chabacano, el español vio nacer otra lengua criolla, el *chamorro* de las islas de Guam, Rota y Saipán, cuyo hispanismo es mucho mayor que el señalado por D. Topping, Pedro Ogo y Bernadita Dungca en su Chamorro–English Dictionary.’ [‘But the Philippines did not remain a singular case in the East, and, next to Chabacano, Spanish gave birth to another creole language, Chamorro of the islands of Guam, Rota and Saipan, whose Hispanity is much greater than that signalled by D. Topping, Pedro Ogo and Bernadita Dungca in their Chamorro–English Dictionary’] (Alvar 1986: 28, my translation).

from a classification of Chamorro as a ‘mixed Hispano-Austronesian language’ along the lines of this taxonomy. It has never been disputed that Chamorro is ‘mixed’ in the sense that it contains numerous copies from Spanish. On the contrary: Spanish influence on Chamorro has been acknowledged and also systemized to a certain extent in many earlier works such as Safford (1903a, 1903b, 1904a, 1904b, 1905), Preissig (1918), Costenoble (1940), and Topping (1973). Left open remain, however, the questions of how to characterize the Chamorro–Spanish ‘mixture’ and how to interpret it in genetic and contact–typological dimensions.

More helpful than the unspecific classification of Chamorro as ‘lengua mixta’ is therefore that as a ‘lengua criolla’: the term *creole* is bound to more specific criteria by which a possible candidate could be judged. Rodríguez-Ponga himself names three of them in the quoted paragraph; in a slightly adjusted form they read as follows:¹³

- 1 Creoles are ‘new languages’, i.e. they can be historically and linguistically distinguished from the languages involved in the circumstances of their coming into being.
- 2 Of the languages involved, in most cases one is a European language and the other(s) is (are) a non-European language(s).
- 3 The respective contact situation typically took place in a colonial context, at a certain place and within a multilingual setting.

Criteria 2 and 3 certainly match for the contact situation between Chamorro and Spanish on the Marianas. One could add that Modern Chamorro, as is also assumed by some linguists for creole languages, did not emerge gradually but rather ‘abruptly’ in line with an extensive Mesticization process that took place in the course of the eighteenth century (Rogers 1995; Rodríguez-Ponga 1999). But this is probably where the analogies end. Although Mesticization profoundly transformed Chamorro society (which motivates Rogers 1995: 104 to call the outcome of that process ‘Neo-Chamorro’),¹⁴ basic elements of Chamorro cultural identity such as matrifocality and the indigenous language remained intact. Chamorro language and people have existed on the Marianas prior to the arrival of Spanish-speaking people, and Chamorro

¹³ In Rodríguez-Ponga (2009), where the same paper is published again, the author adds in a footnote: ‘Dejo en el aire – como hice entonces – la respuesta a esta pregunta que formulé en la reunión de Bremen en la que presenté esta ponencia. Es aquí donde entraríamos a debatir si estamos ante un criollo, un semicriollo, un anticriollo, una lengua mixta, o simplemente una lengua con préstamo masivo.’ [‘As I did back then, I leave open the answer to the question that I asked at the meeting in Bremen where I presented this paper. It is here that we would enter the debate about whether we are dealing with a creole, a semi-creole, an anti-creole, a mixed language or simply a language with massive borrowing’] (2009: 196, my translation).

¹⁴ See Pagel (2013a, 2013b) for an intercultural, intertextual, and linguistic analysis of a Chamorro fairy tale that reflects this transformation process.

continues to be the language spoken by at least a part of the Chamorro people today. Consequently, Chamorro language is a historically continuous phenomenon, with a history (known or not) beyond the colonial contact situation with Spanish.

Continuity is also given in the language's structure: contemporary varieties of Chamorro cannot be clearly distinguished from pre-contact varieties (or what has been handed down thereof) at any linguistic level except for that of cultural vocabulary. Despite massive Hispanic contributions, Modern Chamorro maintains the phonology and morphosyntax, and also large parts of the lexicon of pre-contact Chamorro. Appropriately, Rodríguez-Ponga (2013: 49) concludes in his analysis of Esteban Rodríguez's wordlist dating from 1565 that 'modern-day Chamorro anchors its roots in the language spoken in Guam in the sixteenth century, with absolute clarity and independence from later Philippine and Spanish influences'. Also from the perspective of typology Modern Chamorro shares significantly more features with other Malayo-Polynesian languages than it does with creoles (also those resulting from similar contact constellations such as the Philippine Chabacano, see Pagel 2010, 2015) or the Romance languages. It is evident, then, that in the case of Chamorro we are dealing with linguistic continuity and change, not with discontinuity and emergence, as are assumed for creolization. An application of the term *creole* in an underspecified fashion is not advisable since this will undermine the efforts made by contact linguistics to terminologically separate the more frequent and comparatively predictable cases of contact-induced change from the assumedly infrequent and unpredictable cases of creolization.

Whether the criteria articulated above capture the heart of the term *creole* as it has been used in contact linguistics is a different issue. A complete discussion is beyond the scope of this chapter (see Pagel 2010: 383–411, and 2018 for the history of term and concept as part of the contact linguistic paradigm), but two additional aspects with relevance for the Chamorro case shall be mentioned. A first one is the absence of a pidgin stage (although this is not considered as a necessary precondition for the emergence of creoles by all linguists – see below): there is no evidence whatsoever for the creation of a reduced auxiliary language that eventually became the first language of a new speaker generation (Rogers 1995; Rodríguez-Ponga 1999), nor is it likely that the ecology of the Spanish–Chamorro contact was conducive to the emergence of such a language. There was no rigorous ethnic segregation on the Spanish Marianas, and, because of the low numbers and relatively quick assimilation of the colonial personnel and other immigrants, enclavism as a whole and multilingualism probably remained limited. Colonial administration did not follow a pro-Spanish policy and never systematically discouraged the use of Chamorro. Spanish expanded into rather formal domains and was used in the colonial administration, in religion, in education, etc., while Chamorro remained the language of informal everyday life.

We would assume elaborated bilingualism and diglossia to have developed in such a contact ecology (as suggested by documents from the mid-eighteenth century onwards) but not a pidgin.

One has to bear in mind, however, that many criteria concerning the category *creole* are subject to critical discussion.¹⁵ Among these criteria is also a pidgin stage preceding the creole language, which is considered to be a categorical precondition by some linguists (e.g. Holm 2000; Winford 2003) but only secondary by others (e.g. Bollée 1977, 2009; Siegel 2008). Yet, at least one more criterion is consensual in the creole discourse and must be added to the discussion on the ‘creoleness’ of Modern Chamorro: in the course of the creation of a creole language (be it out of a pidgin or not) the linguistic structure of the model language undergoes reduction and simplification processes (e.g. McWhorter 2007, 2011). As I have shown briefly in section 10.4 (and in detail in Pagel 2010), Modern Chamorro generally reproduces very few structures of Spanish and has in most cases formed something new on the basis of the copied elements, such as modal (irrealis) or tense (future) markers from Sp. *para* and *siempre*, or an indefinite article *un* ‘which deviates vastly from the patterns of its Spanish etymological source’ (Stolz 2012: 191). In those cases where we deal with true reproduction, there is little or no simplification but often an increase in context-embeddedness and/or optionality (as e.g. in copied grammatical gender). In its global appearance Modern Chamorro is neither a reduced and simplified variety of Spanish nor of pre-contact Chamorro. In complexity, Modern Chamorro does not diverge from other Malayo-Polynesian languages, but it clearly does from pidgins and creoles, even those with Malayo-Polynesian substrates (such as Philippine Chabacano, see Pagel 2010: 346–411). A classification of Chamorro as *creole* is therefore misguided and acceptable only under a highly unspecific meaning of the term, perhaps synonymous to a very general understanding of *mixed language* as discussed above.

Since *creole* is an a posteriori category and many deviations from the best known instances have been reported, modern contact linguistics has established various secondary, non-prototypical categories within the creole paradigm. There were also attempts to classify Chamorro in these secondary categories: in a later paper Rodríguez-Ponga considers a classification of Chamorro as a semi-creole, unfortunately without giving further explanations:

[E] Chamorro actual es una lengua moderna nacida del contacto entre el español y la lengua prehispánica. Se trata, por tanto, de una lengua mixta hispano-austronésica. Más aún hay motivos suficientes para situarla (al menos en algún estado de su historia) en el grupo de lenguas criollas o – quizás mejor – semicriollas. (2009: 42)

¹⁵ To catch a glimpse, see, for instance, Ansaldo, Matthews and Lim (2007), DeGraff (2003, 2005), Ennis and Pfänder (2010), Ludwig (2010), McWhorter (2000, 2005, 2007, 2011), Mufwene (2000, 2001, 2003, 2008), Siegel (2008), and Pagel (2018).

[Contemporary Chamorro is a modern language born out of the contact between Spanish and the pre-Hispanic language. Furthermore there are sufficient reasons to situate it (at least at a certain point of its history) into the group of creole or – perhaps better – semi-creole languages. (my translation)]

The adjusted position struggles with the same problems discussed above: Modern Chamorro displays neither the reduction and simplification patterns found in creoles nor those found in semi-creoles like Afrikaans or Brazilian Portuguese – restructured languages in comparison with their ancestors Modern Dutch and European Portuguese, but with an unmistakable Germanic or Romance structure, respectively. To assume that Chamorro displayed these patterns at a certain point of its history raises the question when, why, and how this language has lost the structural properties of creole or semi-creole languages again. If we were to interpret present Chamorro's structure as the result of a recent 'decreolization', this restructuring would have been on the model of pre-contact Chamorro and not on that of Spanish (which would amount to a circular scenario).

Some linguists have chosen rather unconventional methods to test Modern Chamorro as a candidate for the creole type. Munteanu's (1997) analysis, for instance, is restricted to Chamorro's vocabulary and immediately raises the question as to whether a classification on this basis is practicable at all. Reading Munteanu's paper strengthens the suspicion that the author is paying for a positive classification with many compromises. According to him, Chamorro is a creole but an atypical one in two respects: first, it is not the result of an evolution *towards* a target language but *from* various source languages; and second, the dominant language (socially and in terms of the direction of the restructuring) was not European (Spanish) but Malayo-Polynesian (pre-contact Chamorro).¹⁶ Especially the second restriction is so fundamental that it amounts to make the achieved classification absurd. One of the few commonly accepted extra-linguistic characteristics of creole languages is that these languages emerge out of attempts by ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous groups with low social prestige to acquire the language of a relatively homogeneous group with high social prestige (for example, in a community of plantation slaves shifting to the colonial language). Putting on stage the scenario outlined by Munteanu we would witness on the Marianas a

¹⁶ 'En caso de definirse claramente el estatus "criollo" del chamorro, creemos que deberíamos contemplarlo como un criollo doblemente atípico. En primer lugar, no como resultado de una evolución hacia una lengua meta, sino desde varias lenguas fuente ... igual que el papiamento ... En segundo lugar, si aceptamos que en la génesis de tales criollos la correlación de fuerzas entre las lenguas de input no es igual y siempre existe una lengua dominante o base, que imprime su dirección de desarrollo a todo el proceso de criollización ... en el caso del chamorro actual esta lengua no sería europea, concretamente el español, sino el chamorro antiguo, malayo-polinesio' (Munteanu 1997: 962).

prestigious and homogeneous group of Chamorro dominate a low-prestige and heterogeneous group comprising Spaniards, Mexicans, and Filipinos. The first would restrict the latter's access to the dominant language in this contact (pre-contact Chamorro), which would result in the emergence of a creolized variety of Chamorro among the Spanish speakers, and thus would eventually be adopted by the indigenous elite too.

Choosing yet another approach to the creole paradigm, Couto tests Modern Chamorro for a contact type he calls *anti-creole* (1996, 2002). A creole is usually claimed to recruit the majority of its vocabulary from the dominant language in the contact setting while its structure maintains patterns from the dominated languages, by a process identified by some creolists as *relexification*. Couto's anti-creole, on the other hand, is said to mix the vocabulary of the dominated language(s) with the structure of the language dominant in the contact setting, by a process called, analogously, *regrammaticalization*. From a socio-historical perspective, the genesis of an anti-creole is tied to the migration of a group A into the territory of a socially and demographically dominant indigenous group B and a certain enclavism of group A in that territory. An example given by Couto is Shelta, a language combining Irish-Gaelic vocabulary with English structure. An overlap with the mixed/intertwined language type mentioned earlier is undeniable. Accordingly, Shelta has been described from that perspective too, for instance by Grant (1994). With regard to Chamorro, Couto (1996) observes correctly that, on the one hand, this language lacks the reduction and simplification patterns said to be typical of creoles, and, on the other hand, does not display enough regrammaticalization (on the Spanish model) to be regarded an anti-creole. Put differently, Chamorro's structure is considered too complex and too Austronesian to classify the language as a creole, but not Spanish enough to classify it as an anti-creole. The compromise proposed by Couto, however, appears to be a frank capitulation: although not being a creole, Chamorro is regarded 'basically the opposite of an anti-creole'.¹⁷

In order to understand such an interpretation, it is again critical to consider the context in which it is done. Couto's study focuses on anti-creoles, and in the case of Chamorro he relies on only a handful of words and on a comment made by Hall, according to which Chamorro derives 'between 90 to 95 per cent of its vocabulary from Spanish' (Hall 1966: 99) – utopian figures by any measure. In a sense it is the contact-theoretical focus and the methodology of

¹⁷ '[E]le não apresenta os processos de simplificação e redução gramatical que caracterizam essas línguas [crioulas]. Em suma, embora não seja um crioulo, no fundo o chamorro é o oposto de anticrioulo.' ['It does not represent the simplification and grammatical reduction processes which characterize these [creole] languages. In sum, although Chamorro is not a creole, it is basically the opposite of an anti-creole'] (Couto 1996: 89, my translation).

Couto's and also Hall's studies that constitute ecological parameters for our discussion here. Both Couto and Hall are testing Chamorro as a possible candidate for the type of contact language they are studying: anti-creole for Couto and pidgin/creole for Hall. However, such an approach does not necessarily involve an in-depth analysis of the language, not to mention one based on 'natural' data (in the sense laid out in Chapter 2, this volume). Accordingly, the results obtained from it should be dealt with cautiously, measuring their scope against the context. Without further data, they cannot be objectified.

Based on a thorough linguistic analysis, Stolz's contribution to the lengthy volume on the mixed/intertwined language matter by Matras and Bakker (2003) is one of the latest attempts to determine a contact typological status for Modern Chamorro. Studying various sections of Chamorro morphosyntax, Stolz draws the following conclusion, which I see, on the whole, confirmed by my own analysis:

All in all, Hispanization of Chamorro grammar is overwhelmingly a superficial matter which mostly affects only the expression side of the linguistic sign. In addition, the Spanish-derived elements more often than not are optional. What is obligatory in Chamorro grammar has almost always an Austronesian past. Thus, it is legitimate to claim that except for a handful of cases Chamorro grammar has retained its inherited Austronesian structure despite the heavy pressure on the part of Spanish. (Stolz 2003: 282)

An evaluation of Chamorro's lexicon turns out to be more complicated. Again Stolz takes up the figure of 54.9 per cent Hispanisms calculated by Rodríguez-Ponga (1995), which is contradicted by an interesting observation made by Bakker and Mous for mixed/intertwined languages. In a preliminary comparative study these authors had found that

there do not seem to be languages with a proportion of borrowed items between 45% and 90%, so that there is no continuum between languages with heavy borrowing and mixed languages. (1994b: 6)

In other words, a language in a contact situation will copy either less than 45 per cent or more than 90 per cent of the vocabulary of the language(s) it is in contact with. In the first case we are dealing with a simple copying process that can be further qualified, and in the second we are dealing with language intertwining, a process out of which a mixed or intertwined language emerges. Chamorro, it seems, does not fit in either of the two categories. Stolz provides two explanations:

Given the reliability and the comparability of the above percentages, one is faced with the problem of finding a solution: either the borderlines between the categories have to be adjusted so that massive borrowing extends beyond the 50 per cent mark or Chamorro and Malti are neither an instance of massive borrowing nor of mixed languages but rather something else. (2003: 291)

Perhaps the most conclusive explanation is touched on in the introductory phrase: the figures taken up by Stolz may not be reliable because they were not obtained from Chamorro in actual use. Without denying in principle the gap stated by Bakker and Mous (the second language Stolz deals with in his paper is Malti and may indeed be a candidate to fill it), it seems more obvious to question the figure proposed by Rodríguez-Ponga, for the reasons touched in section 10.4. This figure was calculated essentially on the basis of a standard Chamorro–English dictionary compiled by Topping, Ogo, and Dungca (1975). It is clear that a dictionary is always arranged selectively in terms of quantity as well as quality and thus can hardly mirror the relevant language in text or interaction (see Topping, Ogo, and Dungca 1975: xii). In addition, one has to take into account the fact that regular diachronic change has happened in Chamorro since the 1960s and 1970s, when the dictionary was compiled. There are strong indications that this change even followed a certain direction: away from Hispanisms and towards Anglicisms as well as Austronesisms (see Salas Palomo and Stolz 2008). One major reason for this is that Spanish as a natively spoken language has ceased to exist on the Marianas. During the time the dictionary in question was being compiled there were still speakers of Spanish among the Chamorro, for whom this language (and, one must assume, elements copied into Chamorro) transported the high prestige it used to have in the colonial time. Today, however, there are no native speakers of Spanish left (Rodríguez-Ponga 1989: 294; Pagel 2010: 46, 148). Many of the less conventionalized Hispanisms are being replaced ‘naturally’ by autochthonous vocabulary, because the prestigious tone of Hispanic elements has disappeared (see Stolz 2003; Salas Palomo and Stolz 2008). Moreover, purist efforts regarding the language’s structure are directed primarily against the Spanish influences too. In ecological terms, the foundation relations in the ecology of Modern Chamorro have shifted notably during the last decades: the last fragments of the colonial interaction with the Hispanic macro-ecology disappeared, Chamorro–Spanish bilingualism and diglossia, the relevant interactional norms and linguistic attitudes passed into memory and history. Linguistic elements from Spanish, formerly part of colonial bilingual interactions, either fossilized in Chamorro language or were being replaced by other material, especially from English. Contemporary Chamorro interactions are situated in the Malayo-Polynesian, the Anglo-American and the Asian macro-ecologies, but not anymore in the Hispanophony. In fact, ties to the latter are often being consciously suppressed, although they must be considered essentially covert ties already. Purist language policy, for instance, must make serious efforts to draw attention to Hispanisms in order to propose ways to avoid them. If avoided, the perceived ‘Hispanity’ of Chamorro is weakened and the foundation of this language in the Malayo-Polynesian and other non-Hispanic macro-ecologies is reaffirmed. In this regard, the Marianan case is

considerably more absolute than that of the Philippines, where an aged but economically well-situated and influential group of mestizos still actively preserves the historical ties to the Hispanic macro-ecology (see Pagel 2010: 311ff.). In a certain way some considerations of linguists from the Spanish-speaking world regarding the status of Modern Chamorro could be interpreted as a parallel strategy: By overemphasizing and overstating, consciously or not, the ‘Hispanity’ of Modern Chamorro, its foundation in the Hispanic macro-ecology is being maintained.¹⁸ As demonstrated in section 10.4, however, the percentage of Hispanisms in contemporary Chamorro texts and interaction is lower than suggested by those linguists and probably level off at around 30 per cent.¹⁹ Calculating with this figure, then, Chamorro does not contradict Bakker and Mous’s claim (but does not prove it either).

Combining Bakker and Mous’s observations with his own, Stolz ultimately anticipates the only conclusive classification of Modern Chamorro: not a pidgin, not a creole, not an anti-creole or mixed/intertwined language, as these categories are not consistent with the synchronic and diachronic evidence from the ecology of the Chamorro–Spanish contact. Chamorro has evolved by adapting to new ecological conditions and can be said to have entered a novel language stage at which it displays a significant number of copies from Spanish, including a limited amount of ‘Hispanity’ in its structure. One way to picture the quantity and quality of Spanish copies in contemporary Chamorro in relation to the intensity of the respective contact process is provided by Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988: 74–94) ‘borrowing scale’, as shown in Table 10.1.

There is firm evidence for copying from Spanish into Chamorro up to the third of the five levels of this scale. The copying of the Spanish comparative marker *más* (*que*), the indefinite article *un*, and the preposition *para* are good candidates for the fourth level and involve little, perhaps even considerable structural change (see Pagel 2010: 81ff. for comparison; Stolz 2010, 2012 for *un*). The preposition *para* and its grammaticalization to either a modal (irrealis) or a tense (future) marker in Chamorro (see Pagel 2010: 98ff. and Chamorro 2012) also clearly indicate the limits of the concept and term *borrowing* (and others with similar metaphorical substance like *loan*, *transfer*, etc.): there is no element with an equivalent function to that of Ch. *para* in any of the varieties of Spanish, which begs the question what exactly the object of this ‘borrowing process’ was. The irrealis or future tense marker Ch. *para* is more accurately described as the result of selective copying (of phonetic substance and only some aspects of meaning, but no combinational and frequency

¹⁸ See Mühlhäusler (Chapter 11 of this volume) for more reflections about the role of the linguist in the making of linguistic ‘facts’.

¹⁹ Bender (1971) and Stolz (1998) give similar figures.

Table 10.1 *Modern Chamorro on the 'Borrowing Scale'*

Contact level	What is being borrowed/copied?	Examples from Modern Chamorro
(1) Casual contact	<u>Lexicon</u> : content words, non-basic vocabulary before basic vocabulary	E.g. <i>mansana</i> 'apple', <i>iskuela</i> 'school', <i>baka</i> 'cow', <i>pali</i> 'priest', <i>bunitu/-a</i> 'beautiful', <i>bida</i> 'do'
(2) Slightly more intensive contact	<u>Lexicon</u> : function words: conjunctions and various adverbial particles <u>Structure</u> : minor phonological, syntactic and lexical semantic features	Subjunctions like <i>antes ki</i> 'before', <i>desde ki</i> 'since'; adverbials like <i>bienu</i> 'good', <i>esta</i> 'already', and others Diphthongs and consonant clusters in copied Hispanisms like <i>Bietmes</i> 'Friday', <i>Nobiembre</i> 'November' etc.; discourse markers like <i>pues</i> , <i>entonces</i> , comparative marker <i>mas</i> (<i>ke</i>); <i>estaba</i> as past form of existentials <i>gudha</i> and <i>gaige</i>
(3) more intensive contact	<u>Lexicon</u> : function words: adpositions; derivational affixes on copied items; personal and demonstrative pronouns; low numerals	Prepositions like <i>para</i> and <i>asta</i> 'to, towards', <i>put</i> 'because of', <i>kon</i> 'with', <i>sin</i> 'without' and others; derivational suffixes <i>-itu/-ita</i> , <i>-eru/-era</i> , plural suffix <i>-es</i> and morphological gender distinction (with gender agreement optional and restricted) on copied items; personal pronoun 1Sg <i>yu</i> ' (?)', demonstrative pronoun <i>este</i> 'this'; all numerals (<i>uno</i> 'one', <i>dos</i> 'two', <i>tres</i> 'three' etc.)
(4) strong cultural pressure	<u>Structure</u> : slightly less minor structural features than in (2): in phonology phonemicization of previously allophonic alternations; in syntax indications of changing word order <u>Structure</u> : major structural features that cause relatively little typological change: in syntax extensive word order changes as well as other changes that will cause little categorical alternation; in morphology copied inflectional affixes and categories will be added to native words	Phonemicization of [e] and [i] (previously allophones of /i/ and /u/); <i>para</i> as syntactic alternative for dative shift (Pagel 2010: 107ff.) Comparison with <i>mas</i> (<i>ki/kinu</i>) and <i>imas</i> , modal (irrealis) or tense (future) marker <i>para</i> , indefinite article <i>un</i>
(5) very strong cultural pressure	<u>Structure</u> : major structural features that cause significant typological disruption: changes in word structure rules (e.g. from flecational towards agglutinative morphology), categorial as well as more extensive ordering changes in morphosyntax (e.g. development of ergativity); added concord rules	None

properties)²⁰ on the model of the Spanish preposition *para* and subsequent, perhaps even simultaneous, grammaticalization.²¹ There is no convincing evidence that the fifth level of the Thomason and Kaufman scale was achieved in the Chamorro–Spanish contact situation. There is even less evidence suggesting that Chamorro has ‘bred’ a ‘new language’ or mixed with Spanish to form a ‘new language’. Modern Chamorro displays a considerable density of copies from Spanish and should therefore be considered as a high-copying language/code (in the sense of Johanson 2002a). But both from the genetic and the typological perspective Chamorro remains a Malayo-Polynesian language, lacking the core characteristics of the Romance, pidgin, creole, and mixed/intertwined languages.

10.6 Final Remarks

This chapter has had two aims: first, to demonstrate that Modern Chamorro is not a ‘new language’ in the historical–genetic or the contact linguistics sense of this term, contrary to many claims that have been too readily accepted in contact linguistics. An interpretation of Modern Chamorro as a ‘new’ or contact language would be possible only if this term were extracted from the taxonomical context of the relevant fields and understood in a maximally neutral (yet not sufficiently precise) way, for instance, as a code which, from the socio-historical perspective, has received its current shape in an ecology of substantial language contact within a reasonable time frame, and which displays considerable distance from what is perceived (by speakers and perhaps also linguists) as characteristic of the languages involved in the contact.

The second aim is deducible from the topic of this volume and can be described as the attempt to trace possible ecological explanations for some rather doubtful claims regarding the typological status of Modern Chamorro. Various studies involved in the debate have revealed, on closer inspection, one or more of the following problems: (1) absence of ‘natural’ empirical data, (2) an inadequate examination of Chamorro’s structure, (3) unawareness of the ecological conditions and historical dynamics of the Chamorro–Spanish contact situation, (4) a loose interpretation of the defining parameters of the linguistic categories dealt with, and (5) failure to adequately factor in the results of other studies (for instance, quotations taken out of context and objectifying quantifications without considering the methodology).

By choosing an ecological approach to the Chamorro–Spanish contact, this chapter has demonstrated – for a specific case – some advantages of this

²⁰ See Johanson (2002a) on global vs. selective copying.

²¹ See Heine and Kuteva (2003, 2005) for interesting thoughts on contact-induced grammaticalization.

approach over non-ecological ones. The framework laid out in the introductory chapter of this volume permits linguists to locate their specific case and object of investigation within a holistic, inclusive, and coherent theoretical space. This framework not only allows for but considers indispensable methodological pluralism as well as interdisciplinary exchange, accumulation, and comparison. Arguing within this framework of ecological linguistics, building on a sizeable corpus of 'natural' empirical data, referring to a maximum of ecological parameters relevant for its topic (including after all the role of the linguist individual and his/her unavoidably biased view) the present study arrived at conclusions sufficiently different from those of other studies discussed in this chapter.